1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *sóish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uren. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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SKINNER—BRIBRI

BRIBRI DWELLING WITHOUT SIDES
A bowlder used as a metate is shown in the foreground

[facing p. 47]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen,] while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. /

/ This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept [the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle.] [Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao] lie without order on the ground. Generally in this quarter one may see also [the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano] \ One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces

342 [231] [415] [354] [415] 412

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. 1.

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FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

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354 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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made usually in two sizes, only both of which are more capacious than ours. A large example in the collection of the Museum is made in coarse diagonal net, the strands passing over two and under two.

Especially in such houses as are provided with raised floors, one finds beds in addition to hammocks, the groundwork of which is usually a coarse, plain blanket made of a heavy bark cloth, or tapa, about a yard square.

[287]

Bags.—In abundant evidence in every house are the carrying bags, in varying sizes, consisting of coiled work without foundation, and manufactured of cotton or sisal fiber. These bags are made with bone needles, fashioned somewhat like the bone netting-needles of the Central Algonkians, and are, as Gabb says, "meshed like our fiber nets." The bags are sometimes double, one being netted within another, and are often ornamented with a few encircling, parallel bands in black or red, or both, colored with native bark dyes. The bags are called *chákara*. All are furnished with a head- or breast-strap, woven of one piece with the bag.

● [412]

[482]

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415 North America. The Indians relate a tradition that without pointed bases the jars would not fire well. Several variations in form were seen. These are nearly all very large, averaging at least three feet in height, and of a capacity of many gallons. Smaller vessels are unusual. None of the vessels observed bore the slightest ornamentation.

Wooden Utensils.—On several occasions, [322] large, round, wooden bowls, shaped like shallow basins, were observed. They were clumsy and thick, and not to be compared with the fine specimens made by many of the North American tribes.

Pl. XVI represents a very simple dish, made by folding the ends of a strip of the leaf of the platanillo and sewing them together.

412 *Mortars and Pestles.*—Fig. 8 shows a type of heavy horizontal mortar frequently seen in the Indian camps. These are made of great logs of mahogany or of other hard wood, sometimes as much as ten or twelve feet long, with the cavity for the corn hewn in one side. The wooden pestles used with

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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these mortars have double ends and a slender, central shaft, four to six feet in length. 412

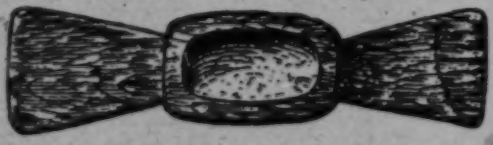
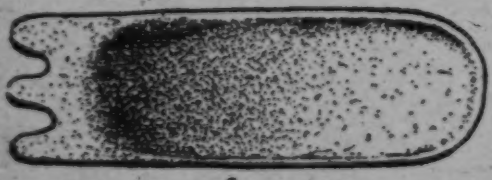


FIG. 8.—Long mortar of wood.

a



b

FIG. 9.—Metate (side and top views). (Length, 18 in.)

Metates and Manos.—At the present time the metate is simply a flat-topped river bowlder, generally of several hundredweight,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

412 [252] shaped only by use. Cacao and maize are ground upon the surface of the metate with a muller or mano, which is another, though smaller, natural waterworn bowlder.

On abandoned sites near Teliri river some crude three-legged stone metates were found (figs. 9, *a*, *b*, drawn from fragments), pecked from hard scoria. These are inferior to the beautiful "tiger" metates of Las Mercedes; nevertheless, some of the Bribri [173] believe that these fine metates were used by their ancestors. The Mercedes and Anita Grande sites also yielded some of the plain, three-legged metates, as well as those of the more ornate variety.

411 412 *Digging Stick or Warclub.*—Pl. XVII, *a*, represents a digging stick of narrow, paddle shape, made of "cacique" wood. While the natives said that this specimen was once used as an agricultural implement, some of them also declared that it had been employed as a warclub. They referred to the stick as a "macana," in which is recognized an implement equivalent to the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*, a warclub in which blades or spikes of obsidian were embedded.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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The late Theodoor de Booy once called the writer's attention to the fact that in certain of the West India islands planting dibbles were used as warclubs, and according to Fewkes, while every warclub among the Porto Rico Indians was not a dibble, every dibble was a warclub.[11] Our specimen bears upon its broad end the striation caused by contact with the earth, and on its side hacks and scars of sidewise blows as though it had seen use as a quarter staff. The handle shows a figure which seems to be a property mark.

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Gabb[12] says:

"In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting sticks. It is very heavy, and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an 'over-blow,' always holding by both hands. . . . . During the wars between the Bri-bris and Tiri-bis at the beginning of this century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir."

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VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Planting dibble and war club, length 5'; *b*, Cacique stick, length 4' 1"; *c*, Blowgun, length 6' 10"; *d*, Bow, length 4' 10"

[Facing page 73]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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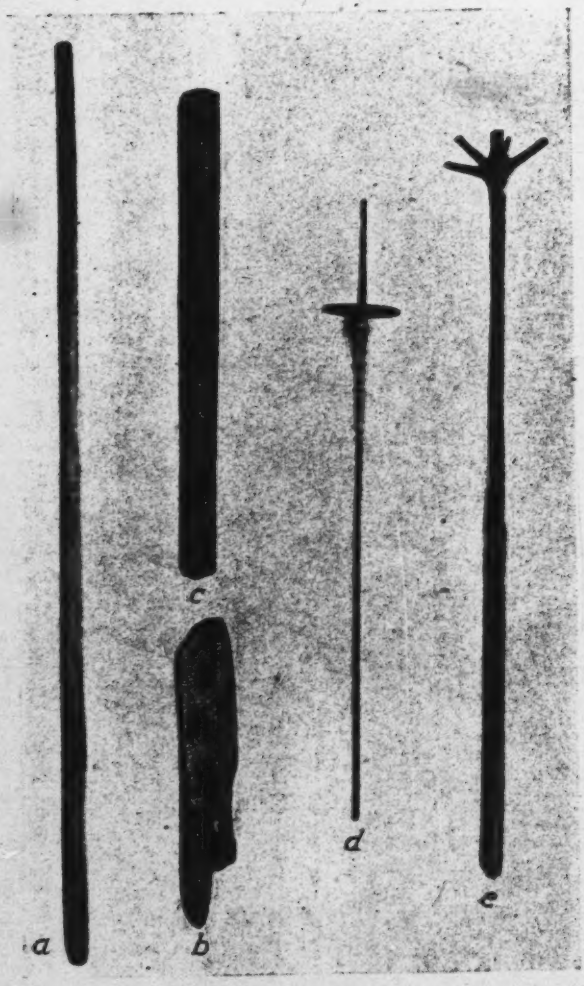

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Fire-drill; *b*, Hearth; *c*, Bark-beater; *d*, Spindle; *e*, Cacao stirring stick. (Length of *e*, 26 inches)

[facing p. 72]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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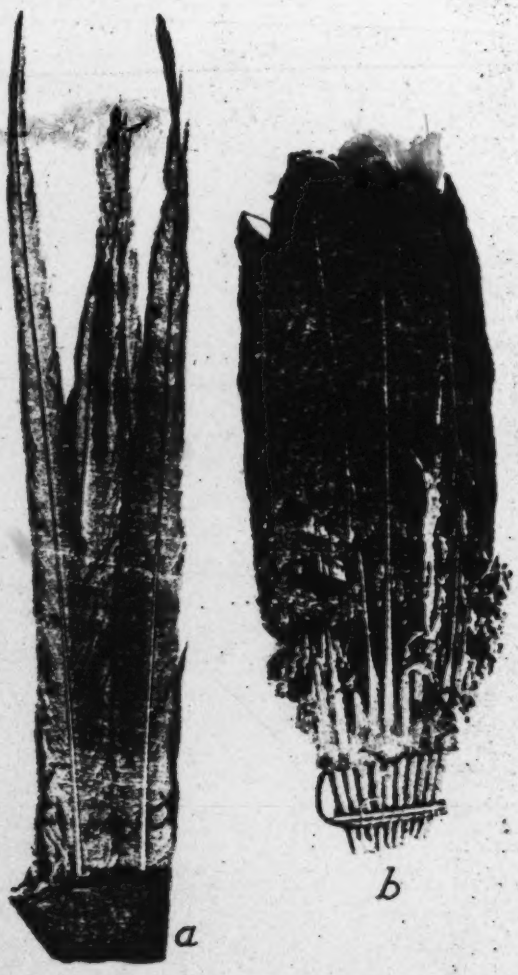

HEADDRESS OF MACAW-FEATHERS AND FIRE-FAN OF HAWK-FEATHERS.

[facing p. 85]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The primary clearing of the forest to make the
[462] field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) - (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods. 412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

[412]

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [754] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kʃ̃-kɔg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maiz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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Boruca

251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *babas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 26), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

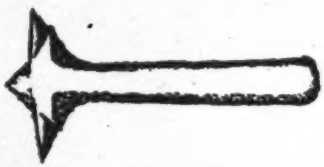

FIG. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily.

[832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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with *chumica* (*Curatella americana* L.) leaves, 352
and are used throughout the household, in the kitchen, by the hearth fire while cooking, as a convenient seat while weaving, and as we use chairs in our houses.

There is at least one hammock in every [513]
household, although frequently two, or even three, are found hanging from the top of the walls. They are used to sleep in as well as to sit in during the day.

Habas, empty, and with foodstuffs or cloth- [412]
ing, are piled in corners or on *tabancos*. Wooden mortars, carved from a single piece of wood, and the wooden masher, are part of every household. These are for husking rice (see p. 9). Large pottery jars to keep chicha are generally found in the corner of the living room. String bags of diverse types hang on the walls with weaving implements, cotton, or thread; while also on the walls, and especially in the kitchen, hang pots dug from ancient graves (when the family is not superstitious), and always bottles of sundry types. These contain many different things, from herbs to oil and seeds. *Maracas*, occasionally masks for festivals, drums, clusters of parrot feathers, toucan beaks, ears of vari-colored corn, bright red shells from boiled crayfish, and even cock feathers are stuck at random in the walls or hang on strings from them, giving a gay appearance to the household. In [231]
certain houses, pet birds such as parakeets, parrots, and macaws are kept by clipping a wing. Instead of cages, a rack is made of pieces of wood, and kept in a corner of the household.

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forgotten their own word for it although they 291
admit having formerly had one.) This blouse is sometimes opened down the front, and sometimes closed. It has sleeves, and is fashioned with a guimpe effect at the neck, hanging loosely over the skirt (see fig. 7, *d*). Formerly, the women used a woven *huipil* which always had a white background, no sleeves, and a rectangular neck. The design consisted of stripes, either wide or narrow. The cloth was finer than that of the skirt, being the same

ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[31] For use as a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

Glues. Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

Pottery. Very little pottery is now being made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[31] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

373 237 388 [294] [412] 824 [302] [157] [272] **Miscellaneous.** Candles are made from wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in every Boruca household. The women rub it in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain remedies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk. This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 802 [177] 804 moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

344 8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

[p. 20-B]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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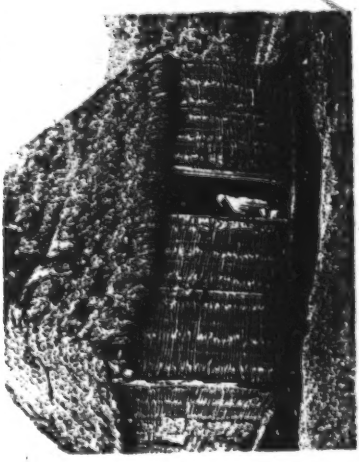

c, Method of grinding corn. b, Single pole as base of house (note window on left, and yeast for chicha hanging on front wall). c, House base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). d, Front stone terrace, Carré.

[p.55]

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*), and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by ...nes and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

[P. 15 (B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 [171] The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

1 [See category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

[P. 19 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

352 177 [354] [415] [412] 417 342 177 [192] nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions of other customs are evident. The hearth is sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends with vines similar to those of the Panamanian Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks, plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched steps is used for a ladder to reach the mezzanines which are occasionally seen in this type of house. It is significant that the Cabécares, who have had less contact with non-indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 [824] [192] [184] In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Talamanca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre, [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 [287] **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca culture. From the middle of the 17th century to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more often constructed of clay on a wooden table. Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of wooden rods are used for sleeping along with hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen in every household although their number is limited according to the family purse. The low stool is always present but a chair and a table are found now and then. Hanging shelves serve for storing food and all manner of odds and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts. The fondness for decorating the wall with feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however, remains the same as on the Caribbean side. Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabited by the Talamancas, it is only used as blankets. Sewing is done by both men and women but chiefly by the men.

The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
415 from cotton or *guaruмo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
237 bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are
[482] suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba* [824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials. [137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut over and these woods are found in the deep 396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it, fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three days to transport the dugout from the place of manufacture to a waterway. In making the boat, the center of the log is burned and the rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut at the top of the joint and is utilized for rounding the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones are made into handles for rattles and fastened with *pita*.

●412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned 301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment), stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of these are made with an arrowhead or a fine *pejibaye* stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific 432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two most important ones are for fastening on the [411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts [354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax is made into candles. It is very popular as an article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and 824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed on top of each other and a stick is run through the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn- [301] ment both on the house walls and as head- dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers [372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste* 824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are boiled to make soap.

[P. 24(B)] SA 19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [252] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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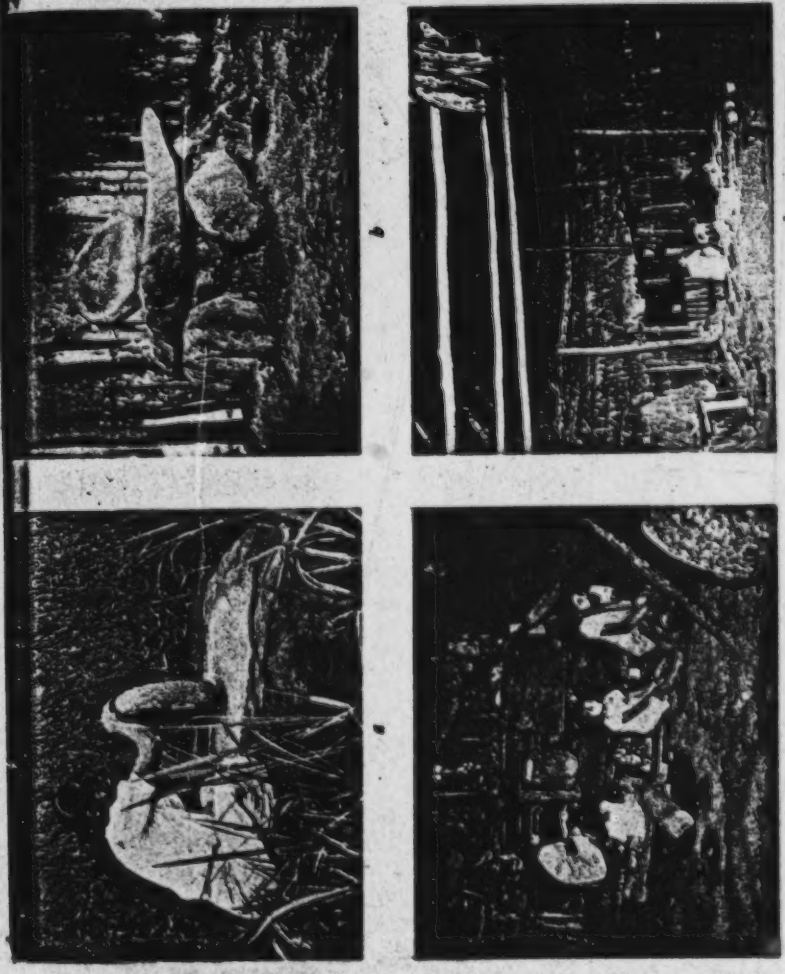

4, Natural standing stone in a savanna. A, Natural standing stone in a house. 4, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. 4, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

*539 (2) *sibu* said to the large worm, "Why don't we drink in[246] a young gourd?" Then *sibu* thought of this so that[247] he [the worm] would get rid of us.

2. There was no cacao. There was no gourd. He [*sibu*] saw that there was. He broke it.[248] He heated it.[249] They drank. *sibu* made as if he drank, but he did not drink.

3. Then the large worm vomited. There he got rid of us with the basket. Then *sibu* dried us in the sun. He said this, "I am keeping my seed."

6. I am going to tell about the eagle (*Cabécar*)

1. The *tágwe*[250] say the large eagle ate the Indian people. [In] Cabécar, the eagle is called *Logap'u*. [On a] large mountain, *suLášibí*,[251] [like] a great house, there lives the large eagle. He carried people [for his] young ones to eat. The people [did] not return.

2. [A person] made a *chouta*[252] cage. A person entered. The eagle carried the person in his claws. [The person] brought a pejibaye[253] rod to kill him.

3. The eagle raised him to *suLášibí*. He carried the person high in the air. He saw the sea. He carried the person. He put him [on] *suLášibí*.

"jirowągLə ká-séte[254] tsirú báL šɛ mé duLuná nąʔ" jéra je bigətsa sibote ró sejé towogLɛtsą́iwą.

2. ká tsirú-ta ká mé-ta. išie teisuą tsó jeiró. butsáite. bawąite. šaite sibo jek šauateišogé nębi, atára kate išeguna.

3. ŋerá[255] tsitLá kegLə chuLtuajqmi. jéska sejé tuaktsajte kokobLá-ra jegəpa sibote só páktsiwą́ne kóLbaga. teišá jerá, "s-ditsó bLogę́."

6. šís mą išə Logap'u[256]

1. towa išə Logap'u taj sąkówak šugúta. sąkąská,[257] Logap'u kié Logap'u. kábota[258] taj, ju ikəbi, suLášibí, eska isęrgę Logap'u taj. pé migę́iwą išibaLá šakə šɛ, kai dotɛ́ sertsó.

2. wąite dikatogLə kaLgLə.[259] sertsó jie-jekpatkaua. Logap'u sertsó clemira. ketkə datewa ciktugLuwą́wá.

3. Logap'u butsagaj-te suLášibí. sertsó menéwą siwą́ kəbi.[260] dəše sųai-te. sertsó menéiwą. magąi-te suLášibí.

[246] Literally, "with."
[247] Lɛ., broke the gourd off.
[248] This is one of the clans the medicine men come from. *See* Social Organization.
[249] Name of a high forest land at the source of the Tiliri River.
[250] A stilt palm (*Iriartea* sp.).
[251] The Cabécares say that a *chouta* or *pejibaye* knife is understood as that is all they had in those days
[252] *-sitv* is akin to a double negative.
[253] There is no reason except sound for the varied forms of "then."
[254] Literally, "is."
[255] Lɛ., the cacao.

●[412]